

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RIGA.

Riga, Latvia,

January 7, 1925.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 2611

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to forward herewith the translation of a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International outlining the methods of organization and work of Communist germ-cells in foreign countries. The Russian original from which the translation was made was seized by the Latvian political police in a recent raid upon an illegal Communist organization operating in Riga. Translations of certain other documents seized at the same time are now being made and will be forwarded later.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Enclosure:

F.W.B. COLMAN.

1. "Translation of Resolution as stated."
Eam/PM

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 2611

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL CONCERNING ORGANIZATION OF GERM-CELLS AT
THE INDIVIDUAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

Party organization must be adapted to conditions and purpose of its work. During the Reformist policy of the Social-Democratic Party which by means of the ballot box tried to gain influence upon the bourgeois state, it was quite natural that principal was paid to the organization of the voters. It was necessary, therefore, to base the organization on election districts and domiciles. This organization structure was also taken over by the Communist parties from the Social-Democratic Party. However, this is contradictory not only to the ultimate aims of the Communist Party, but also to its proximate tasks. The ultimate aim of our Party is to overthrow the supremacy of the bourgeoisie, to conquer the bourgeoisie, the seizure of political power by the labor classes, and the inauguration of Communism. The proximate tasks are - to conquer the majority of the labor classes by means of active participation in the every-day struggle of the labor masses, and by guiding such struggle. This can be achieved only by closest contact of our Party organisations with the labor masses at the various works and establishments. On these grounds already the Third Congress of the Communist International resolved that the germ-cells at the various individual establishments should constitute the foundation of the

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Communist Party. However, in the majority of sections of the Communist International, this resolution has not yet been carried into effect; in many sections the question of organizing germ-cells at the individual establishments, has not yet even been broached. In the meantime, the experience of the German revolution (towards the end of the year 1923) has clearly shown that without germ-cells at the individual establishments and without closest contact with the labor masses - the latter cannot be drawn into the struggle, nor guided, that their moods and frame of mind cannot be gauged correctly, that the right moment cannot be seized and victory over the bourgeoisie secured.

Fundamental Principles of Local Organizations.

I. The Germ-cells at the Individual Establishments Constitute the Foundation of Party Organization.

1. All Communists employed at a given establishment must belong to the germ-cell of that establishment.

Note: At establishments where there are only one or two Party members, the latter shall belong to the nearest germ-cell of any other establishment, which germ-cell shall attend to the work of all other establishments in the vicinity that have no germ-cells of their own.

2. Communists who are not employed at works and factories, shops, stores, etc., (housekeepers, domestic servants, caretakers, janitors, etc.,) shall form germ-cells by the streets where they live (on the principle of domicile).

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Note: All members of germ-cells of establishments who reside in other regions are bound to register themselves at the bureau of the germ-cell of the district in which they reside. Members of party germ-cells of other regions, who have been attached by the district bureau to a street germ-cell, shall in the latter have no decisive vote in matters which are being decided in the germ-cell of the given establishment (such as questions of principle, elections of Party delegates, etc.).

3. Persons out of employment shall remain members of the germ-cell of the establishment at which they were employed previously. In the case of protracted unemployment they may, with the consent of the regional committee, be struck off the lists of the original germ-cell, and transferred to some of the germ-cells of the district where they are resident.

4. In small industrial centers, towns and villages, or estates, homogeneous germ-cells shall be established, if possible, around the establishment or the estate.

5. The germ-cell of the establishment and the germ-cell of the street shall elect their bureau or presidium to consist of three members, or of five at the most. Elections to take place at general meetings of the germ-cell. The Bureau or Presidium of the germ-cell shall distribute the work among their members. According to the size of the germ-cell, the bureau or presidium shall appoint special comrades for attending to, and spreading, literature, for managing propaganda, one comrade for conducting the work at the works and factories committees, one for trade union work, one to keep in touch with the germ-cell of youth, one for managing the work among women, and so forth.

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6. Party members who are members of germ-cells of establishments, shall pay their membership fees to the mentioned germ-cells; Party members belonging to street germ-cells, shall pay their membership fees to the latter.

7. In large towns where there are many establishment germ-cells and street germ-cells, they shall be formed into districts. Districts shall be formed into regions. All regions of a large town shall make up the town organization. The districts shall be established by the regional committee, (This is evidently the meaning, the Russian text being somewhat mutilated - Note of Translator). In establishing them the regional committee should take care to form them, as much as possible, around any larger establishments. In middle-sized towns too districts should be established which would embrace establishment as well as street germ-cells. These districts shall be formed into a town organization. In small towns and in the village, the germ-cells shall be formed into local groups. Town organizations in middle-sized towns and local organizations in small towns and villages shall be formed into sub-regions.

Note: In accordance with local facilities, as well as with necessity, the district committees (of local groups) shall call regular general meetings of all establishment and street germ-cell members of their district.

8. At the head of the district and the local groups shall stand a bureau consisting of 3 to 5 members, which is to be elected at a general meeting of all germ-cell members of the given district or local group, or at delegate meetings, in accordance

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with local conditions, (for instance, if the organization is not legalized). The secretary of the bureau of the district and the local group shall be confirmed by the sub-regional committee (uyezd committee). At the head of the region and sub-region shall be regional and sub-regional committees which shall be elected at regional and sub-regional conferences.

9. At district and group delegate meetings, as well as at regional and sub-regional conferences, the germ-cells must be represented in proportion with the number of their members, but in such a way that the majority should be on the side of the members of establishment germ-cells. The norms of representation for each germ-cell shall be established by the regional or sub-regional committee (uyezd committee).

In such organizations where on account of their non-legalized existence it is impossible to have many representatives at the regional or sub-regional conferences, it shall be permissible that germ-cells elect delegates direct, and districts and groups - at meetings of delegates.

10. Town committees (in large towns) shall be elected at town conferences which are to consist of delegates of all regions, to be elected at regional conferences, in proportion to the number of members in the given region.

11. In order to give greater influence to the germ-cells of establishments, in the district bureau as well as the regional committee, the majority of the members should be members of establishment germ-cells.

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Part of the town committee must consist of laborers from establishments.

12. In conditions of non-legal work, the higher Party organs shall in exceptional cases (in case the committee has been arrested, etc.) have the right to appoint new members of the committee, on the condition that at the first opportunity a meeting of delegates or a conference is called, which will confirm the appointed committee or elect another one. These members of the committee who have escaped arrest shall have the right of cooptation into the committee of new members, pending the convoking of a conference, with the consent and the approval of the higher Party organs. The number of members of the committee shall in conditions of non-legal existence be as small as possible.

Tasks of Germ-Cells at Establishments.

The center of gravity of political organization work of the Party must be shifted to the germ-cell at the individual establishment. By guiding the every-day struggle of the labor masses for their every-day interests, the germ-cells of the establishments must lead the masses in their struggle for dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why the Communist germ-cell must in due time discuss and fix its attitude towards every political and economic question that interests the labor masses, and in every conflict that might arise at the given establishment. The germ-cell must show the laborers the way of a revolutionary solution of the problem, and, being

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composed of more class-conscious and active elements of the labor classes, take the management of the struggle into its hands.

Apart from general Party aims, the tasks of the germ-cells at the establishments are the following:

1. To carry on Communist agitation and propaganda among the non-party labor masses, to do systematic work in the matter of drawing individual laborers into the ranks of the Communist Party, to circulate political literature at the establishment, to throw light on sundry questions in the foreground of interest at the establishment,, also to issue a small special newspaper at the given factory, to carry on cultural and education^{al} work among the laborers of the given establishment.

2. To make constant and stubborn efforts to get into their hands all posts the holders of which are elected by the laborers of the establishment (in trade unions, cooperatives, works and factory committees, control commissions, etc.).

3. The germ-cell must interfere in all economic conflicts and in all demands preferred by the labor masses. The task of the germ-cell is to broaden and deepen the movement, to point out to the laborers the political consequences of the struggle, and to push them towards struggle on a broader scale (not only economic, but also political), and towards creation of a united labor front against the bourgeoisie and Fascism.

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4. Struggle for abolishing the influence, upon the laborers of the establishment, of other Parties wielding their influence to the detriment of the labor classes. The germ-cell must conduct a stubborn struggle at the works and factories against the adherents and members of other parties, Socialists as well as other "labor" parties, using in this respect such material from the activities of such parties which would be accessible to the understanding of even the most backward strata of the labor classes.

5. To establish contact between the laborers at work, and the unemployed, with a view to preventing conflicts between them.

6. Where conditions have become sufficiently ripe, a struggle must be carried on for labor control over production, over banks, estates, the transport service, and a struggle for supplying the laborers with articles of primary consumption.

7. To exercise influence upon youthful laborers and upon working women employed at the given establishment, and to draw them into the struggle; to further the formation of germ-cells of the Communist union of youths at the establishment, or to support such germ-cells where they already exist.

8. Every member of the germ-cell must take active part in one or the other branch of Party work at the establishment, as given to him by the bureau or the presidium of the germ-cell.

Apart from these special tasks in connection with the given establishment, the germ-cell of the establishment

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has also territorial tasks according to the domicile (of its members), for the laborers of the establishment have also various needs, and perform sundry public functions, in connection with, and according to, their place of domicile (housing question, supply question, sanitary, schools, cultural and educational question, elections, etc.)

1. To carry on political and organization party work at the place of domicile (of members), carrying on there sundry campaigns (elections, for preventing of housing calamity and dearth), to carry on struggle for securing articles of primary necessity for the families of laborers, lower employees, and the middle strata.

2. To circulate Party literature, to enlist new party members and new readers of party literature, to carry on agitation and propaganda, to exercise influence on non-party people individually, to attend to cultural and educational work in the given residential district (clubs, etc.), to enlist the support of sympathizers for labor demonstrations, and in general in the struggle of the labor classes.

3. To carry on agitation in the houses and lodgings of the given district. To collect information concerning the political creed of persons living in the district (to which Party they belong), political work, and the activities of the Fascists; to ascertain the whereabouts of stores of arms, etc.

4. To carry on work among women and children.

These territorial tasks apply also to the street

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germ-cells. Their work must be conducted under the direct management of the district bureau, and should be coordinated with the work of the germacells at the establishments.

Arranging the Organization of Germ-Cells at the Establishments.

In view of the novelty of this for many sections of the Communist International, as well as of the variety of the prevailing conditions in the various countries, the Executive Committee of the Communist International recommends, first of all, to discuss this question in the press and at party meetings, and only then to start reorganizing the Party on the basis of establishment germ-cells. In the first place, germ-cells should be organized at the larger establishments.

The germ-cells must not by any means be confounded with the Communist factions in trade unions, cooperatives, etc. The functions of these bodies cannot be performed by the germ-cells. The functions of the faction are narrower than the functions of the germ-cell. The germ-cell, or rather the bureau or the presidium of the germ-cell, must direct the work of the faction in the trade union at the given establishment.

The Organization Section of the Executive Committee of the Communist International applies to all sections of the Communist International with the earnest request to inform us in detail of the discussions in regard to the questions we have mentioned here, and of the results achieved in the matter of such organizations at the individual establishments.